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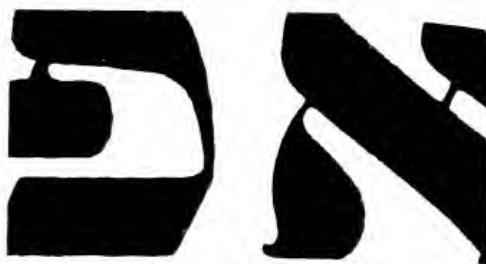
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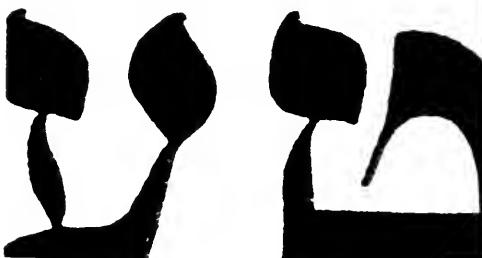
MALTER

PERSONIFICATION OF
SOUL AND BODY



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PERSONIFICATIONS OF SOUL AND BODY

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PERSONIFICATIONS OF SOUL AND BODY

A STUDY IN JUDAEO-ARABIC LITERATURE¹

By HENRY MALTER, Dropsie College

JUDAEO-ARABIC authors are very fond of variously personifying the human body and soul, both separately and in their relations to one another. The instances are so numerous, the sources from which the various personifications are to be collected so widely scattered, and the aspects under which they were conceived so manifold, that the writer, working without a sufficient library, must at once surrender his ambition of giving an exhaustive study on the subject. Aside from some casual remarks, no attempt has hitherto been made at gathering and grouping the material according to some principle. The following may be taken as a modest beginning in this direction.

The subject is closely connected with the general idea that the universe and man are parallel; that whatever is found in the world without, in the macrocosm, is reflected or finds its counterpart also in the man, the microcosm. This doctrine is very old, being traceable not only to Pythagoras and Plato (Munk, *Guide*, I, 354, n. 1), but also to the oldest Babylonian literature (Hugo Winckler, *Die babylonische Kultur*, Leipzig 1902, p. 33). The Talmuds and Midrashim afford numerous instances of analogies

¹ See this REVIEW, 1911, p. 459, n. 12, 471, n. 42. A preceding study belonging to p. 457, n. 10, is soon to appear elsewhere.

between parts of the universe and of the human body; see particularly **אבות רבי נח**, ed. Schechter, c. 31 and the references given there. For several years I have been collecting material on this subject in mediæval Hebrew literature, and hope to treat it elsewhere. Here I limit myself to the analogy between soul and body without regard to the idea of microcosm.

The oldest instance of personification of soul and body in Jewish literature is, to my knowledge, the passage in b. *Nedarim* 32b. The "little city, and few men within it" (Eccl. 9, 14-16) is interpreted there as signifying the human body and its limbs, the "great king," who builds bulwarks against the city, is the evil spirit (**חַרְעָן**), and the "poor wise man," who delivers it by his wisdom, yet is remembered by no one, is the good spirit (**צַדְקָה**). The same interpretation is given by the *Targum* and *Midrash Kohel. rab.* on the verses referred to; comp. Bahya, *Duties*, V, 5, near beginning; *Zohar*, **פִּנְחָס**, III, 234b-235b; Samuel Ibn Tibbon, **קָוֹן הַמִּים**, Pressburg 1837, p. 92.

Very ingenious is the metaphor employed in b. *Sanhedrin* 91a (occurring also in *Lev. rab*, c. 4, § 5, and *Tanhuma*, section **וַיִּקְרָא**) to express the relation between soul and body. They are both compared to two men, one lame, the other blind, who, when called to account for the despoliation of the king's garden which they were appointed to watch, denied the deed on the ground of their physical disabilities. The king, however, placed the lame man on the shoulders of the blind one and demonstrated to them the way in which they had jointly committed the crime. The application is to the flesh and the spirit. When soul and body are arraigned before the Almighty they disown responsibility for their sins in this world. The soul alleges

that it had not the physical organs for committing sin, the body contends that without initiative from the soul it was incapable of any action. God thereupon reunites body and soul and metes out punishment to both together. This beautiful parable found its way also among the Arabs. The "Brethren of Purity," a humanistic society of Arab philosophers of the tenth century, reproduce the story with various embellishments characteristic of these Mohammedan writers and their fondness for vivid imagery.² The Arabic superscription of the parable is "Al-Hindi," the Hindoo, thus declaring it to be of Hindoo origin. Steinschneider, however, cites various instances, where Arabic *Hindi*, Hebrew הָנִידִי, and Latin *Indus* are errors for *Yahudi*, יְהוּדִי, and *Judeus* (medieval spelling), and believes this to be the case also here. The Arabs received the parable from the Jews, not from the Hindoos, as the latter are not known to have applied it to soul and body.³ This hypothesis is not acceptable. A quotation from Richard Garbe's "Die Sāmkhya-Philosophie" (1894), p. 164, (taken from Kārikā 21), kindly communicated to me by Professor George F.

² See Dieterici, *Anthropologie der Araber*, Leipzig 1871, p. 111-113.

³ *Il libro di Sidrach*, Rome 1872, p. 8, n. 2: "almeno non mi è noto che questa favola fosse applicata dagli Indiani all'anima ed al corpo"; comp. *Hebr. Bibliographic*, XIII, 31, especially his posthumous work *Rangstreit-Literatur*, in *Sitzungsb. d. philos. hist. Klassic d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, CLV (1908), No. IV, p. 58-60, where the question of the origin of the parable is more thoroughly discussed and also some Hindoo parallels quoted. In a recent work, *The Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul* by Louise Dudley (Bryn Mawr College Monograph Series, vol. VIII), the learned authoress, over-anxious to prove her thesis, sees in all her material but Coptic and old Egyptian elements. Her general conclusions (p. 149, against Linow and Steinschneider; comp. also p. 160), as the passage from Garbe's work shows, are not at all conclusive. The present article, however, was already under print when the above dissertation came to my knowledge, which precludes a discussion in detail.

Moore, proves that the ascription is correct and that the Arabs took the parable from the Hindoos. The passage translated reads as follows:

"The relation between brute creative matter and the spiritual, but inactive, soul is compared to the alliance between the blind and the lame man. Finding themselves hopelessly entangled in a thicket, one took the other on his shoulders and both reached safety. The lame man is the soul. It has the power of vision, but according to the doctrine of the Sāmkhya-system it can neither move nor act. The blind man is matter. It has the power of movement, and executes all of the world's actions, but it neither sees nor comprehends."

Through what channels the idea came into the Talmud, I am unable to say. The Brethren of Purity, or the "Noble Friends," as they also call themselves at times,⁴ could hardly have had any knowledge of the Talmud, since

⁴ I use the translation "Brethren of Purity," which is commonly met with in the works of European writers, especially those of Dieterici, who has edited and translated into German most of their writings. The real meaning of the arabic 'Ihwān es-Śafā is, as Goldziher (*Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 9, n. 1, and more particularly in the periodical "Der Islam," Strassburg 1910, I, 22-26) has proved, "The True Friends"; comp. Steinschneider, *JQR*, XVII, 581 (357). In Hebrew literature they are mostly referred to by some general epithet, as **הַלְוָסָפִים, הַחֲכָמִים, הַקְּדוּמִים, קָצֶת (אֶחָד) הַפְּלִוסָפִים, הַקְּדוּמִים, הַחֲכָמִים, הַוּתִיקִים**, corresponding to the Arabic **الأخوان الصالحة والأصدقاء الكارام** ('Ihwān es-Śafā, ed. Dieterici, p. 624, top); comp. also **הַרְיעִים הנְּאמָנִים, מַבְקָשׁ**, Joseph Albo, *Ikkārim*, III, top, and one of the versions of Maimonides' Letter to Samuel Ibn Tibbon (אַבְוֹא בָּנָן הַשׁוֹבֶת הַרְמָבָד; comp. Kaufmann, *Attributenlehre*, 336, and Horovitz' Introduction to Ibn Ṣaddik's *קְרִיטָם*, VII, n. 31, 32.

there was no Jew in their ranks. Be that as it may they have been more than generous in their return to the Jews for what they have taken from the latter. For Jewish literature abounds in instances of allegories of soul and body, nearly all of which are taken directly or indirectly from the works of these humanists. As there is no other principle to guide us in the arrangement of the following quotations, they may be grouped historically according to the authors in whose works they first occur.

In the *Aphorithecms* of the Arab *Honcīn b. Ishāk* (died 873)⁶ Hippocrates is credited with the sentence: **מעלה שכל** **בלב בגוף** **כמעלה הראות בעפעמים**, “the intellect is to the body as the light is to the eye.” This comparison is very frequently met with in the works of Arabic as well as Jewish authors. So Avicenna (died 1038) **وقياسة عقولنا قياس الشمس** **من ابصارنا**, which expresses the same idea.⁷ In a work of Al-Fārābī (died 950)⁷ the comparison is made not with reference to the human soul or intellect in general, but to the “active” intellect in particular: **ויחס הישכל הפעול מן האדם** **ויחס השטמיש מן הראות**. Similarly Al-Ġazzālī (died 1111), *Ethics*, 151, 155. In the work **מבחר הפנינים**, attributed to Ibn Gabirol, at the end of **ישער הפריותות**, the sentence reads: **ובאותר השטמיש אור העולם בן הנפש אור הנפש**. Most of the Hebrew authors, drawing a line between the soul (נֶפֶש) and

⁶ Translated into Hebrew by Judah Al-Ḥarizi under the title **מוכריו חփיותופים**, II, 8, beginning, ed. Loewenthal, Frankf. a. M. 1896, p. 35.

⁷ Haneberg, *Zur Erkenntnisslehre von Ibn Sina und Albertus Magnus*, Munich 1866, p. 66, § 9; see also Avicenna's Compendium of Psychology published by Landauer, *ZDMG*, XXIX, 371, 1. 5.

⁷ **התהלות הנמצאות**, published by H. Filipowski in **האסלאם**, Leipzig 1849, I, 5. The passage is quoted by Hillel b. Samuel (thirteenth century), in **תגמולי הנפש**, 7b, and by Shem Tob Palquera, **המשילות הנפש**, 15, who does not mention Al-Fārābī's work.

Very frequent is another comparison, likewise of Aristotelian origin,¹¹ following which the soul is a craftsman and the body the tool of his trade. Saadia is here the first Jewish author to make use of this idea, when he says in reference to the soul: ¹² **שְׁהָא הִיא הַנוֹתַנָּה לְכָלִים הַחַיִשָּׁה** and a little further: **לֹא הַבָּעֵל אֶלָּא בְּנוֹף כִּי בַעַל כָּל נִבְרָא אֶרְזָרָא** ^{אֶל} **כָּל מִתְבָּלִים**. Later authors are still more explicit on the subject.¹³ With the Brethren of Purity this comparison has

⁸ See e. g. Joseph Ibn 'Akniin, **ספר מוסר**, 103, 174, top, and in **קובץ חשבונות הרמב"ם**, Leipzig 1859, II, 45b; Simon Duran, **מן אבות חשבונות הרמב"ם**, 19b, 8ob, 83b.

⁹ Steinschneider's *Festschrift*, 53, bottom.

¹¹ Zeller, *l. c.* In the so called *Pseudo-Theology* of Aristotle it is repeatedly asserted in the name of the "divine philosopher" Plato that the soul is the real man and the body only the latter's instrument; see the Arabic text, edited by Dieterici, Leipzig 1882, p. 120 (German translation, 122), 149.

¹² *Emûnôt*, Constantinople 1562, p. 54b, Arabic text, edited by Landauer, p. 195, l. 7; the later Hebrew editions have erroneously טְהִרָּה for טְהִרָּה.

¹³ So Ibn 'Saddiq, **עולֶת קְדוּשָׁה** (Breslau 1903), 32, bottom, 75, 1, 8; Horowitz, *Psychologie*, 177, n. 95; Judah Halevi, *Kuzari*, II, 26; Maimonides, **מִשְׁבָּר תְּהִימָה**, near beginning; **בְּבָבֵר נָדָע שָׁהָגָן בְּבָבֵר אַמְגָן** הוּא כְּלֵי לְפָשָׁע; Joseph Ibn 'Akun, *ספר מוסר*, 19, 115 (comp. Goldziher, *Kitâb ma'âni al-nafs*, 48); Palquera, **כ' הַפָּשָׁע**, c. 3; the anonymous author of the commentary on

become almost a habit. They exploit the thought from every possible point of view, even to the extent of making it trivial.¹⁴

The works of the Brethren of Purity are the chief source also for numerous parables on body and soul. Thus they are compared to a king and his palace, the governor and his province, the mayor and the city, or the house (body) and its inmate, similes which are in turn worked out with minute detail, with points of comparison carried to extremes. A few instances will suffice to illustrate the method. On one occasion where body and soul are compared to the house and its occupants the head is likened to the attic of the house, the eyes and ears are peep-holes, the throat is the corridor, the lungs are the summer-palace, the heart, with its natural warmth, the winter-palace, the stomach is the kitchen, mouth and lips are door and door-posts, the teeth are watchmen, and the tongue is the chamberlain. Where comparison deals with loftier personages each character is given a train of attendants. Thus in the instance in which the soul or the intellect is made the king, the five faculties of the mind, called the "inner" senses,¹⁵ become his ministers, the five physical (or "outer") senses are his soldiers, the ears are the messengers, who bring the

Canticles, quoted above, 52, bottom; Joseph Albo, *'Ikkarim*, II, 28, and others; comp. Kaufmann, *Sinne*, 57, n. 54; Goldziher, *l. c.*, 28, first note on text, p. 19; Horovitz, *Über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalam*, Breslau 1909, p. 13, n. 2.

¹⁴ See Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 5-9, 17, 43, 128; *Die Lehre von der Weltseele*, 91 f. (Arabic text, ed. Dieterici, 513 f.); comp. also Al-Gazzālī, *Ethics*, 38: *כְּלֹי לְנַדֵּשׁ וּמַרְכְּבָתָה*.

¹⁵ Al-Fārābī appears to have been the first to introduce a distinction between *outer* and *inner* senses: *الاحساس الظاهرة والباطنة*; see his *'Uyūn al-masā'il*, c. 20, *apud* Schmoelders, *Documenta Philosophiae Arabum*, Bonn 1836, p. 23. By "inner" senses are understood those functions of the soul or

news to the king, the hands are his servants, and so on.¹⁶ This simile is not original with the Brethren of Purity. It was used earlier, in less detail however, by Al-Fārābī in a treatise on the soul.¹⁷ An interesting parallel to this simile appears in Avicenna's Compendium of Psychology,

القُوَّةُ الْحَرَكَةُ فِي الْحَيْوَانِ الْفَرِّ النَّاطِقِ
 كَلَامُ الْمُرِّ الْخَدُومِ وَالْحَوَاسِ الْخَمْسِ كَالْجَوَاسِيسِ الْمُبَثُوَّةِ وَالْقُوَّةُ الْمُنَصُورَةُ
 كَصَاحِبِ بَرِيدِ الْأَمْرِ الَّيْهِ يَرْجِعُ الْجَوَاسِيسِ وَالْقُوَّةُ الْمُنَخَّلَةُ كَالْجَنِّ السَّاعِي
 بَيْنَ الْبَرِيدِ وَبَيْنَ صَاحِبِ الْبَرِيدِ وَالْقُوَّةُ الْمُنَوَّهَةُ كَالْوَزِيرِ وَالْقُوَّةُ
 الْمَذَكُورَةُ كَخَرَافَةِ الْأَسْرَارِ¹⁸

This presentation is made use of intellect which, according to the opinion of the Arabs, are performed without the assistance of any of the five "outer," bodily senses, as apperception, imagination, cogitation, and retention. The Arabic philosophers differ as to the number of these functions, Al-Fārābī counting four, while our authors, as well as later writers, enumerate five. There is, moreover, much disagreement as to the single functions which are to be included in this number. We are here not concerned, however, in these particulars. For a detailed discussion see Kaufmann, *Dic Theologie des Bachja*, 12-15. Medieval Hebrew authors followed their Arabic masters in all these points. Kaufmann, *Sinne*, 46 ff., gives a long list of Hebrew authors discussing the **חַשְׁבָּוֹת פְּנִימִיּוֹת** (inner functions), to which many more can be added. So Dunash b. Tamim (10th century), commentary on *Yegirah*, London 1902, p. 64; Palquera, *הַנְּבָעָשׂ*, c. 12, 18; Aaron b. Elijah, introduction to *גָנְזָן עַדְן*; Meir Aldābi, *אַמְנוּת שְׁבִיבָה*, Warsaw 1887, p. 141, col. b (taken from *שְׁעַר הַשְׁמִינִי* of Gerson b. Solomon, Rodelheim 1801, 76, top); Simon Duran, *מִגְנָן אַבְּוֹת*, 31b, 35b; Isaac Abrabanel, *רוּחַ נִירְאָה וְרוּחַ נִירְאָה וְרוּחַ נִירְאָה*, c. 21, and others. For often is used **פְּנִימִיּוֹת וְחוּזְנִיּוֹת** and **חוּזְנִיּוֹת וְפְנִימִיּוֹת**, which is also found in Arabic sources, so in the works of the Brethren of Purity, ed. Dieterici, 209, bottom. The poet Immanuel of Rome uses **פְּנִימִיּוֹת וְכוֹרְגִּישׁוֹת** (*Makāma* 18, ed. Lemberg 1870, p. 132b). Berechiah ha-Nakdan, *ס' הַחֲבָרָה*, ed. Gollancz, London 1902, p. 52, 146, uses **פְּנִימִיּוֹת וְכוֹרְגִּישׁוֹת**.

¹⁶ See Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 5 ff., 17, 43, 128, especially 53, 56; *Weltseele*, 33, 46 f., 109 f.; comp. *Naturanschauung*, 83, *Mirocosmos*, 72, 89.

¹⁷ Translated into Hebrew by Zerahiah b. Isaac (1280) under the title **מִשְׁכָנָתִי בְּמִתְחָרֶת הַנְּבָעָשׂ** and published in the collection **הַמְּרָה גְּנוּתָה**, Konigsberg 1856, p. 48a, comp. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 295 f.

¹⁸ See the German translation of Landauer, *ib.*, 391, n. 14, and the parallel, Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 35.

This imagery proved a source of inspiration also to the poets of the Synagogue. In discussing some liturgical productions containing similar figures, Steinschneider says with reference to the passage just cited: "For this beautiful description of the human body the Synagogue is indebted to Gazzāli."²⁰ The passage inspired him to a material imitation given below.

Die Augen sind die Führer,
Die Ohren die Kassirer,
Die Zunge ist der Dragoman,
Die Hände Flügelmänner,

¹⁹ *Ib.*, p. 40; see the many similar pictures, often highly poetical, in the tenth chapter of the work, out of which the following two sentences may be quoted here, as they belong to our subject proper. The one, p. 63, reads: *בְּשֶׁל נֶפֶשׁ הָאָדָם בְּגָבוֹן כְּמֶלֶל מִישָׁל בְּעִירָוֹ וּמִלְכָתוֹ וְכָחוֹתוֹ אַבְרָהָם הַמְּשֻׁרְתָּהִים הָם* (nowhere is man like a king in his city and in his dominions); the other, p. 66: *כְּמוֹ הַאֲוֹנוֹנִים וּהַפּוּלִים מְנֻהָּג אֹתָה וּכְחוֹתוֹ חַמְשִׁיגִים מִהְשָׁוִים הַחַצְזָנִים וְהַפְּנִימִים הָם כְּמוֹ פְּרָשִׁים (the sense is in partitive, the sense being: and his faculties of comprehension and perception consisting of the outer and inner senses are like soldiers etc.; comp. *Lev. rab.* 4, § 4; see also Tholuck, *Blüthensammlung aus der morgenländischen Mystik*, 213; E. H. Plumptre, *Ecclesiastes*, 12, 2, p. 213 f.*

²⁰ *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1876, p. 191, note.

Die Füsse sind die Renner,
 Das Herz der thronende Sultan:
 Und ist's dem König wohl ums Herz;
 Dann fühlt kein Diener Sorg' und Schmerz.²¹

Jewish philosophers, nurtured in the literature of the Arabs, naturally followed the same line of thought. Thus Bahya Ibn Paḳūda's masterful description of the human body as a palace with the intellect as its royal resident attended to by a splendid staff of servants,²² agrees in its main features, as also in many details, with that of the Brethren of Purity. Abraham Ibn Ezra is another instance of prominent Hebrew authors who took delight in portraying soul and body in Arabic fashion.²³ In Judah Halevi's symbolical description of the Tabernacle and the sacrificial cult (*Kuzari*, II, 26)²⁴ "King Intellect" (מלך

²¹ Steinschneider, *Manna*, Berlin 1847, p. 83.

²² *Duties*, III, 9; comp. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 13, n. 8; Kaufmann, *Die Theologie des Bachja*, 19. Palquera's detailed description of the body comparing its various organs to parts of the universe (מִבְקָשׁ, 46a) occurs with slight variations also in Ibn Ṣaddik's *עולם קְדוּמָה*, 24 (comp. Horovitz, *Psychologie*, 162, n. 45) and is taken from the Brethren of Purity (see Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 4 f.), while the author of the *ספר הַשְׁרָה* (c. 1), attributed erroneously to R. Jacob Tam, drew upon the *Duties* of Bahya.

²³ See e. g. his introduction to the commentary on Ecclesiastes and *ib.*, I, 16, especially his *חֵי בֶן מַקְיָה*, an imitation of a work of Avicenna, in the collection *הַפְּשָׁת מִתְמֻנוֹת*, Berlin 1845, p. 47. The Hebrew translation of Avicenna's work and that of an Arabic commentary on the same under the title *אָגָרָת חֵי בֶן מַקְיָה* was published by Kaufmann in the periodical *קָדְבָּן עַל יְדֵי*, II, Berlin 1886; see *ib.*, 20 f. for passages relating to the subject under consideration.

²⁴ Comp. also *ib.*, III, 5, beginning; Bahya, *Duties*, I, 7, end. Ibn Zebarah, *ספר שיעוריים*, (1866), 24 (הַרְוַעַת הוּא מלֵךְ הנָּגָף) may also be here referred to; comp. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 15, particularly the many instances quoted by Kaufmann, *Sinne*, 63, n. 70; comp. also Judah Al-Barceloni, *ברוש ס' יזירה*, Berlin 1885, p. 109, 265; Bahya b. Asher, beginning of section *בְּשִׁלְחָה*.

(השכָּל) dwelling in the heart is compared to the *Shekinah* which resided in the Sanctuary. He, too, like Avicenna whose psychological theories he adopted,²⁵ makes of the inner and outer senses a kind of advisory board to the intellect. Less complimentary to the body is Joseph Ibn Sādīq. The animal soul, which is a general term for all functions of the physical senses, is the mere servant of the rational soul: *וְהַנֶּפֶשׁ הַחֲכָמָה כְּמוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַנֶּפֶשׁ [הַחַיָּה] הִיא כְּמוֹ שָׁׁׁוֹרֶת וְנוֹגֵשׁ הַמִּשְׁרָתָה אֶת פְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ*.²⁶ His source is the treatise of Al-Fārābī, p. 48a.²⁷ The distinction between the souls is of Platonic origin.²⁸ Passages of this kind from the works of Hebrew authors are too numerous for quotation. The above will suffice as examples.

To this category of similes in which the soul always appears as a sovereign with the body as its royal quarters,

²⁵ Steinschneider first called attention to Judah Halevi's dependence upon Avicenna, see *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, X, 57, n. 2. Landauer, *ZDMG.*, XXIX, 335 ff., proved it in detail; comp. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 18, n. 121; Kaufmann, *Theologie des Bachja*, 12, n. 4.

²⁶ כתן יולם (1903), 37. On other occasions he, like Abraham Ibn Ezra (Introduction to Commentary on Eccl.), uses also the simile of house and resident; see *ib.*, 33, top (בָּשָׁׁׁוֹן בְּתוֹךְ הַבַּיִת); comp. Horovitz' Introduction, XII, n. 53, *Psychologie*, 161, n. 43, 177, n. 95. Similarly Palquera, *הַאֲוֹא אַעֲלֵ נְפָשָׁךְ כְּבָתָה שְׁכָנָת וְכָלוֹשׁ לְבָשָׁת*, מבקש, 47a.

²⁷ See above, note 17; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 296, n. 204; comp. also Schmiedl, *Studien*, 145. I must call attention here to a passage quoted by the author of the Commentary on Canticles, 55, of which I do not know the source. It reads: *הָרָאשָׁן אִשָּׁה שְׁלָשָׁה דְּבָרִים לְמַרוֹן מְאַנְגָּנוֹס . שְׁנִי הַגָּבָעָה לְבָנֶשׁ כְּמַלְךָ לְבִּילָה כְּנָר בַּבָּיִת . שְׁנִי הַגָּבָעָה לְבָנֶשׁ כְּשׁׁוֹרֶת לְפָנֵי הַדְּיוֹנִים שְׁלָשִׁי לְבָנֶשׁ כְּמַלְךָ בְּמַלְכָה*. The last portion is found literally in the book *Yeširah*, c. 6, § 2, where the version of Saadia, ed. Lambert, 102, top, has more correctly *לְבָנֶשׁ בְּגָוָעָה*; comp. Judah Al-Barceloni as quoted, note 24, and Dunash Ibn Tamim, י"ס ב', 71. The middle portion expresses, I believe, the same idea as quoted above from Ibn Sādīq. The author seems to have taken the whole passage from some younger Midrash.

²⁸ Horovitz, *Psychologie*, 174, n. 83, 177, n. 91.

belongs also the comparison of the soul to a captain steering a vessel (body), a thought that can be traced back to Plato. Here again the Brethren, true to their method, spin a long yarn (see Dieterici, *Macrocosmos*, 107-110), contriving a variety of supplementary analogies to complete the picture. Thus e. g. man's actions are compared to the merchandise with which the vessel is fraught, the world is the ocean, life is a voyage across the sea, death is the haven, and the hereafter is the home of the passengers,²⁹ or the safe harbor, where captain and craft take their final rest (Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 17, 43, 127).

It has been pointed out already by Steinschneider (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 8) that the works of the Brethren have influenced also the Kabbalah. Thus we find the above simile applied in the *Zohar*, Exod., section ייקח, 199. The prophet Jonah's going on board of a ship is allegorized as the human soul entering the body. The name Jonah (from יְנָה = to deceive) is applied to the soul, which is deceived into a calamitous association with the body. "And the ship was like to be broken" (Jonah, I, 4) is taken as an allusion to the frailty of the human body, constantly threatened by the storms of life. The lengthy exposition of the *Zohar* was translated literally into Hebrew and made part of a later Midrash on the book of Jonah.³⁰ The metaphor is

الجسد كالسفينة والنفس كالملأح
²⁹ *Ihrwān es-ṣafā*, ed. Dieterici, 457:
 والأعمال كالاتجاه للتجار والدنيا كالبحر والموت كالساحل والدار الآخرة
 كمدينة التجار والله تعالى كملك الجازى هناك.

מדרש יונה³⁰ in Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, 1, 103 f.; comp. Jellinek, *ib.*, p. XIX. For the Aramaic of the *Zohar* I quote a part of the passage of the Hebrew translation of the Midrash: יונה שירד לספינה זו הנשמה של אדם שירדה ביעולם זהה להיות בגוף של אדם הנמשל לسفינה ולמה מקרי הנשמה

very frequently met with in the works of philosophic writers. So Ibn 'Aknin, קובין תשבות הרמב"ם, II, 45a: *השלמות שני מינים... והמן השני ישיהה עשה בשלמות כמו רב החובל כי הוא שלמות הספינה... והנפש השני*. The same, but more elaborately, he says in his *Kobes*, סְפַר הַנֶּפֶשׁ, c. 173. The whole discussion of Ibn 'Aknin in the *Kobes* is found almost verbally in Palquera's *Compendium of Psychology* mentioned before.³¹ Palquera uses the metaphor also in c. 15 of the same work as also in some of his other works.³² The Italian author Hillel b. Samuel (thirteenth century),³³ the Karaite Aaron b. Elijah (fourteenth century),³⁴ and the Christian scholastic Thomas Aquinas quote it in the name of Plato.³⁵

יונה על דרך הפסוק לא תונו אויש את עמו ובל זה גורם החותמות שיש לה עט הגוף והאדם הולך בעילם זהה כספינה לבב הים הנדו שיחסב[ה] להשבר כדי חשבה להשבר וכו'

³¹ See Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 18, n. 122b and p. 989, No. 5.

³² See his *אגרת החלום*, *JQR*, 1910, p. 471, where the simile is quoted as a משל הדרומוגים, by which the Brethren of Purity are to be understood; see above, note 4; comp. also צרי היגון, *Ilanau* 1716, p. 14a-16b, and Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 30.

³³ *תגמולי הנפש*, 3b, 15b, 16a.

³⁴ עין חיים, c. 108, beginning.

³⁵ See Dr. בקה לגוף, חמלה גנווה in the collection מאמר על הנפש, 2: *הנפש דבקה לגוף, חמלה גנווה* וכמו הדבר ללבושים כמו שמייע גרגוריוס מאלטונן. The editor wrongly ascribes the treatise to Ibn Gabirol; see Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 22, n. 144. Prof. Louis Ginzberg communicates to me the following passage from the *דרישות* of Joshua Ibn Shu'aib (fourteenth century), section אדרת, ed. Constantinople 1523, fol. 27, col. c.: *וחכם גROLו אמרת ואין ספק שקבל זה מהחכמי שראאל... הנשמה העלונה מהאומות קרא הנפש אניה ואין ספק שקבל זה מהחכמי שראאל... הנשמה העלונה אניה הבהה מקום הרים הנקרים יס ומשם משתלשתה ובאה בגוף האדם*. Ibn Shu'aib only proves hereby that he was not well-informed on the subject. For pseudo-Bahya and others see Goldziher, *Kitāb*, 50. The quotation there from Bahya b. Asher's commentary on Genesis fully agrees with the passage in Ibn 'Aknin's *ספר מוסר*, 173, referred to above.

Somewhat similar to the above group of metaphors is the one in which the soul is conceived of as a rider and the body as the steed. The world appears here as a race-track, on which the wise are the winners.³⁶ The same simile is used by Al-Ğazzālī, *Ethics*, 156: **הנפש הוא כמו הפרש והגוף כמו הסוס**. Elsewhere in the same work (p. 134)³⁷ he compares the body to a chariot which conveys the soul to its celestial abode: **הגוף הוא מרכיבת הנפש אישר בו תעבור אל משכני עליון**, a metaphor found very frequently also in the writings of Avicenna.³⁸ Among Jewish writers mention may here be made of the anonymous authors of the *Kitāb ma'āni al-nafs*³⁹ and of the fragmentary commentary on Canticles⁴⁰ referred to above. Shem Ṭob Palquera says:⁴¹ **הכלית הגוף לחיות מרכיב לנפש ומעבר לליבת אל שלמה עני ורוכב על חמוץ**

واجسده كالدابة والنفس
كالراكب والدنيا كالميدان والعالمون كالسباق

comp. Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 17, 43, 127 f.

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³⁶ *Iḥwāt es-Şafā*, ed. Dieterici, 457: **الجسد كالدابة والنفس كالراكب والدنيا كالميدان والعالمون كالسباق**; comp. Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 17, 43, 127 f.

³⁷ Comp. also *ib.*, 128; bottom (גוף מרכיבת ונובר לנפש) and the passage quoted above, note 14.

³⁸ See Mehren, *Les Rapports de la philosophie d'Avicenne avec l'Islam*, Louvain 1883, p. 15.

³⁹ **תבחן כי באלפארם אלדי יתהר פרוסיתה** See that work, p. 63, l. 20; **באלפארם אלדי הצלת לתנפיך פעלה נשמת האדם העולונה תקרה לך ... בעבור היהת** (גוף מרכיבת העולונה תקרה לך ... בעבור היהת) says: **בלב המרכיבת הראשונה לה** (comp. also his commentary on Deut. 6, 5, and on Isa. 66, 14); similarly Judah Halevi, *Kuzari*, II, 26 (המוחנה הראשון לנפש). The purpose of these authors, however, is not the application of the simile, but the designation of the heart as the organ in which the soul resides. For details on this matter see Kaufmann, *Sinne*, 63, n. 70.

⁴⁰ Steinschneider's *Festschrift*, 58, bottom.

⁴¹ *הברת החלום*, *JQR.*, 1910, p. 471; comp. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 30 f.

(Zech. 9, 9) is interpreted as a reference to the poor soul riding the body.⁴² The original source of this group of similes is Plato's *Phaedo*.⁴³

The spirit of mediæval gloom and asceticism manifests itself in another group of metaphors in which the body is likened to a prison or dungeon,⁴⁴ a grave from which the soul escapes only at the moment of death,⁴⁵ an unburied corpse carried on a bier by the soul.⁴⁶ Again the body is an idolater, a heretic, a hypocrite, a fool, Satan, devil, a courtesan, with whom the soul, an inexperienced stranger⁴⁷

⁴² See *Midrash Aggadah*, ed. Buber, Vienna 1894, I, 159. The Midrash offers two interpretations as follows: *מצול עני מחוק ממנה וענוי ואבון מגולו עני זה* (the soul is imprisoned in the body and is poor and miserable) and *פרשו עני ורוכב על חמור ר"ל מרכב הנפש על החמור הנפש וגולו זה הגוף וכן פרשו עני ורוכב על חמור ר"ל מרכב הנפש את הגוף ועוזב יתרונות העולם או יהיה פרוש ורוכב על חמור שעיל הנפש את הגוף ועוזב יתרונות העולם נערות יושיעו הקב"ה מן הגוף הנגוף*; comp. Goldziher, *Kitâb*, 47, n. 2. *Jedaiah ha-Penini* of Beziers, c. 16, beginning, uses the same metaphor, warning the intellect against the allurements of the “braying ass” (*נערות* *אתהונך אשר בחתת סכלותה*). His commentator Moses Ibn Habib justifies this upbraiding of the body by a reference to a passage in b. *Berakot* 3a (*חובחה ראיונה חמור נער*) which he interprets in the same way. In Bahya's *Tobahah* it is the body that is termed *דָל עַנִּי אֲבִוָן וְהַלְךָ*; comp., on the other hand, his *Duties*, V, 5, where, following the Talmud, *Nedarim* 32b (see above, p. 454), he applies *מסכין* to the soul; comp. *Kohel. rab.*, 4, 13.

⁴³ See Dieterici, *Macrocosmos*, 14; comp. also *Phaedrus*, 246 A, where the soul is described as a charioteer (*ἱπνίοχος*).

⁴⁴ جبوس و مطامير, *Iḥwān*, ed. Dieterici, 451; comp. Dieterici, *Weltseele*, 32 f., *Macrocosmos*, 97.

⁴⁵ *Iḥwān*, 513, §86; Dieterici, *Weltseele*, 91, 189, *Anthropologie*, 126.

⁴⁶ Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 131.

⁴⁷ The idea of the soul being a stranger in this world is a favored theme also with Jewish authors; see for instance Bahya, *Duties*, III, 2: *שהשכל הוא עצם רוחני נגור מן העולם העליון והוא נכרי בעולם הגוף העבום והשכל מפנוי שהוא נכרי אין לו מחוק ולא חבר והכל כנגדו ויעלה על לבו גרות הנפש* (comp. also *ib.*, IV, 4, ed. Königsberg 1858, p. 101).

in this world, is brought in contact, who takes advantage of the stranger's inexperience and by her demoralizing power brings him to ruin.⁴⁸ All this found expression also in Jewish mediæval literature. To collect all passages bearing on the subject would be a tiresome and unprofitable task. Bahya Ibn Pakūda's *Exhortation* (חובחה) alone contains nearly all the epithets of the body enumerated above,⁴⁹ while the famous moralizing *Examen Mundi* (בחןת הארץ) of Jedaiah ha-Penini offers a still richer collection of such terms. The figures of the prison, grave, corpse, and the like, which occur frequently also in the works of Philo, were a favorite with the liturgical poets.⁵⁰

There is another category of metaphors intimately related to those under discussion. The Arabs as well as the Jews often substitute the world for the body. Thus the world, too, aside from being represented as an ocean

(כינור), VIII, 3, last *Meditation*; Goldziher, *Kitāb*, 44, n. 1. Jedaiah ha-Penini's *בחןת הארץ* abounds in phrases expressing the same thought. The soul is "kidnapped from the king's palace" and made to "live among strangers" (גנובת היכל מלך ... לגור בין נקרים), a "traveler on the road taking lodgings in an inn" (באורה נטה לילן), *ib.*, c. 14-15), and so forth; comp. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 13; Goldziher, *Kitāb*, 47, n. 1, 3; see also *בן המלך והנזיר*, *ib.*, c. 20.

⁴⁸ Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 131 f. The reader can rest assured that our authors do not fail to give the soul the good advice not to heed the jugglery of the woman-body, who, they assure, if treated with indifference by her intended victim, will soon desist from her coquetry (*ib.*, 132).

⁴⁹ Aside from the lengthy description of the body as a deceiver and seducer the author calls it also גוף נבאמ ופגר נובם מסגר (= heretic), and the like; comp. also his *Duties*, V, 5, beginning. Jedaiah, c. 14, in allusion to Gen. 40, 15, puts in the mouth of the soul שמו אותו בבורו; c. 15 he uses and בורא בְּבֵית אָסָר (= dungeon).

⁵⁰ See the numerous references in Steinschneider's *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, 298, n. 21, and *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 12 f.; comp. also *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, III, 190, n. *.

and as a race-track (see above) it is also spoken of as a courtesan,⁵¹ a prison,⁵² a fortress, a workshop,⁵³ a harvest-field, where death is the reaper,⁵⁴ and a shaky bridge.⁵⁵ Jewish literature bristles with parallels.⁵⁶ Sometimes the authors conceive also of the soul as a spiritual world, or, the world to come, and then soul and body appear as two opposed worlds, or, in a bolder figure, as two women-rivals.

⁵¹ An Arabic proverb quoted by O. Bardenhewer, *Hermetis Trismegisti...de castigatione animae*, Bonn 1873, p. 28, reads: **الدنيا فحَّةٌ فِي يَوْمٍ**

عَنْدَ عَطَارٍ وَيَوْمٌ عَنْدَ بَيْطَارٍ

"The world is a prostitute,
one day she is with a spice-dealer,
another with a horse-healer" (*baiṭar* = veterinarian).

תכל משוללה לזונה ידועה ללבשת בגדיו צנוגה הפוך בעיניה והישק במתנהיה וכו' Comp. (in II, 383); Dukes, נחל קדומים (הלבנון) c. 10, end. It should be noted that the Arabic "dunyā," world, as well as the Hebrew (and צמַן), denote also, as in the above instances, worldly blessings, *fortuna*; comp. the description of the world (nature) as a woman in the Arabic text *apud* Bardenhewer, I. e., 8, § 11, and especially בחרית עולם, *בוחינת עולם*, c. 10, end.

⁵² Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 144.

⁵³ 'Ilywān, 449; Dieterici, *Weltseele*, 30.

⁵⁴ Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 43, 127 f.; comp. 'Ihān, 457: **النفس كالخواز**
والحمد كالبزوعة والأعمال كالحب والثمر والموت كالحصاد والآخرة
كالبيدار.

⁵⁵ Dieterici, *Logik*, 169.

⁵⁶ Some references are given by Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IX, 169, top, XIII, 12 f., 30 f. The eighth chapter of the *בוחינת עולם* begins with the words: *היעלים ים זורע ... והחומר גשר ריעע בניו עליו*; comp. Chatzner, *JQR.*, VIII, 419; Palquera, and Ibn Hisdai, *מהקרוות והחלאות המאבדות את האדם וכו'*, *בן המלך והנזיר*, and Moses Ibn Habib in his commentary on *צורי היגון*, ed. Hanau 1716, p. 7a, top, and by Moses Ibn Habib *בוחינת עולם*, 33b.

who constantly quarrel with one another. So Ḡazzālī, *Ethics*, 157: רַע שְׁמִישֵׁל הָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה וְהַאֲחֶר הָוּא כְּשַׁתִּי כְּפֹתַת הַמְּאוֹנוֹת: וְכֹמוֹ מָרוֹחַ וּמָעֵרֶב וְכַשְׁתִּי צְרוֹת כִּי כָל וּמִן שְׁתְּרָצָה הָאַחַת מֵהֶם תִּכְזִים הָאַחֲרָת. Ḡazzālī is probably the source of Bahya:⁵⁷ וְאַמְרוּ הָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה וְהָעוֹלָם הַבָּא כְּשַׁתִּי צְרוֹת כְּאֵשֶׁר תְּرָצָה הָאַחַת תִּקְצִיף הַשְׁנִית. The sentence seems to be of Hindoo origin as it occurs also in the romance "Prince and Dervish,"⁵⁸ which was translated from Arabic into Hebrew under the title בֶּן הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַנָּזְרֵר by the same Abraham Ibn Ḥisdai who translated the aforementioned work of Ḡazzālī. There, c. 14, the sentence reads as follows: וְאָמַר אַחֲרֵי מִשֵּׁל הָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה וְהָעוֹלָם הַבָּא לְשַׁתִּי צְרוֹת כָּל שְׁיָאָבָה הָאָדָם הָאַחַת תִּכְעַם הָאַחֲרָת Immanuel of Rome (Maḳāma 19), times: וְאָמַר הַחֲכָם אֲשֶׁר הִוָּה דָּבָרִיו עֹרוֹה בְּצְרוֹת הָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה וְהָעוֹלָם הַבָּא כְּשַׁתִּי צְרוֹת הָאַחַד כְּשֶׁפֶחֶה וְהַשְׁנִי כְּנֶבֶרֶת לֹא תְּרָצָה הָאַחַת עַד שְׁתְּקִצְיָה הָאַחֲרָת Ibn Ḥisdai provides the two women with the names of Hannah and Peninnah (I Sam. 1), Hannah figur-

⁵⁷ *Duties*, VIII, 3, beginning of the 25th *Meditation*. Bahya's dependence upon Ḡazzālī has been proved by A. S. Yahuda, see Goldziher, *REJ.*, 1904, p. 154 ff.

⁵⁸ See Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 864 f.

⁵⁹ Moses Ibn Ḥabib, 26a, bottom, drew, according to Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 30, n. 12, upon Ibn Ḥisdai. Ibn Ḥabib's version, however, is somewhat different (בְּנֵה שְׁתְּבִיעַם הָאַחַת תִּשְׁמֹת הָאַחֲרָת). The sentence is quoted also by Samuel Kimhi (1346); see Steinschneider, *ib.*, p. 166.

⁶⁰ The ed. pr., Brescia 1401, and ed. Lemberg 1870, p. 140, bottom, have erroneously שְׁתְּקִצְיָה for שְׁתְּקִצְיָף which is the reading of ed. Constantinople. Saul b. Simon who first published Palquera's צָרִי הַיּוֹן (Cremona 1557) and claims to have reproduced its contents from memory (see this REVIEW, 1910, p. 173, n. 42) has embodied in his memory numerous passages from Immanuel's work. Thus the whole lengthy passage in Immanuel's *Makāmas*, from which the above sentences are taken, is reproduced literally, with a few omissions, in the *הַגָּן*, ed. Hanau 7a. There, too, the reading is שְׁתְּקִצְיָף. The work ought to be republished from the original MS. found in the collection of the late David Kaufmann.

ing, of course, as the better of the two.⁶¹ Immediately before the sentence just quoted Ibn Hisdai quotes the saying of a wise man⁶² that this world is the paradise of the wicked and the prison of the righteous: **העולם הזה עון המין ומאסר המאמין**. This, too, is found in the works of Al-Gazzālī⁶³ and Immanuel.⁶⁴ Joseph Ibn Ṣaddīk, who is also to be mentioned here, has (76, bottom): **ובאמת שהוא קטן שולם קטן**. Ibn Hisdai is also the source for Immanuel's **נושאי תבל הם נושאוי הנורש תבלם הבא**.⁶⁵ In the *hitopadesa*, *l. c.*, the sentence reads: **גט העולם הזה קדישין לעולם הבא**.⁶⁶

The Arabic Humanists often conceive of the body also as a covering, as the outside protection of something more precious that is placed within. Thus they frequently compare the soul in the body to an embryo in the mother's womb, the chick in the egg, the pearl in the shell, or the

⁶¹ Comp. Dukes, *Beiträge*, II, 103, addition to p. 56 (in Steinschneider's *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 867, n. 117, erroneously "36"), who refers to a similar conception in the *Hitopadesa*.

⁶² The Brethren of Purity attribute the sentence to the Prophet; see Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 144; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIII, 13, n. 8.

⁶³ **העולם הזה הוא מאסר הראשון וגנ השני**, מאנו זך 218: **רשותן** and **שנוי** refer to the righteous and the wicked whom the author had described in the preceding pages. Gazzālī and Ibn Ṣaddīk seem to have escaped the notice of Steinschneider, *l. c.*

⁶⁴ The older editions have corruptedly **עד מomin** for **עד מomin**, while ed. Lemberg, 149, bottom, has **עמד הימין ומאסר המאמין** which gives no sense at all.

⁶⁵ So also in **צרי היגון**, *l. c.*

⁶⁶ In this form the sentence was made use of by Ibn Ḥabib, *l. c.* 22 a, top, where, however, the word **גט** and, perhaps, also a reference to the source were omitted in print, rendering the passage unintelligible; see *ib.*, 26a, 33b (see above, p. 469, note 56) where two other sentences taken from Ibn Hisdai are introduced by **וכבר אמר** (כמאמר) **החכם במשלו**.

man in the garment.⁶⁷ The comparison of the soul with an embryo is not merely the creation of a fertile imagination but part of a well defined system. According to these authors, when the individual soul is sent down from heaven, where she was at one with the universal soul, to join the human body, she is made to forget the wisdom that was hers in the former abode.⁶⁸ She must now regain it

هذه الأجساد وهذه النفوس الجزئية ينزلة البيضة ⁶⁷ *Ithwān*, 599:
للفrix والمشيمة للجذين. The following is a collection of metaphors given
في المثابيات في النفس والجسد
(on the similitudes of soul and body) *ib.*, 195:

النفس كالجذين والجسد كالرجم النفس كالساكن والجسد
كالمتنزّل النفس كالراكب والجسد كملركوب النفس كاللاح
والجسد كالسفينة النفس كالملك والجسد كالملوك النفس كالصانع
والجسد كالدكان النفس صانع والجسد مصنوع النفس سائس
والجسد مسوس النفس كالملك وقواتها كالجنود والرغبة والجسد كما
ازداد هرمًا وشيخوخة ازدادت النفس طرافة وشبوية

For brevity's sake I give only the contrasts: embryo — womb, boy — school, inhabitant — habitation, rider — beast, captain — vessel, king — subject, artisan — (his) shop, workman — material, master — pupil —; "and in proportion as the body grows old and decrepit, the soul grows young and vigorous"; comp. Dieterici, *Logik*, 142, *Macrocosmos*, 97, *Microcosmos*, 184, *Naturanschauung*, 83.

⁶⁸ That the soul is deprived of her previous knowledge when entering this world is taught already in the Talmud, *Niddah* 30b: דריש ר' שמלאי למה: דרשה בדונה בעמי אמרו לאנכם שטנוקען ... ונדר דלוקן על בראשו וצופת אמברית מסכה הולך וערס ספפו ... ומולמדין אותו כל התורה כליה ... ובדין שבא לאיר העולם ... מלארך בא וטוטרו על פיו ומשכחו כל התורה כליה... The anonymous author of the *Kitāb ma'āni al-nafs*, who wrote under the influence of the Brethren of Purity, refers very often to this passage in support of this (Platonic) theory; comp. Goldziher's notes on pp. 28, 56, 62 of that work, where numerous

through her own efforts in her earthly career. At the outset of her career on earth she, therefore, resembles the embryo awaiting development and perfection. The embryonic soul, in virtue of her divine origin, naturally seeks to repossess herself of the lost treasures of wisdom and grandeur, which she can accomplish only through constant application to study and search after truth (*ἀνάγνωσις*). Here, however, she meets with the stubborn resistance of her earthly companion. In his low passions and desires he tries to divert her from the right path and to drag her into the mire of worldly pleasures. If she is strong enough to withstand the temptations and subdues the enemy, making him subservient to her higher aims, she fulfills her mission on earth, and on the day of death, departing from the body, she returns to her celestial home, where, in reward of her long struggles and sufferings, she is admitted to the galaxy of angels that surround the throne of God. The death of the body is, therefore, the birth of the soul,⁶⁹ the final act in the evolution from embryo to full maturity. If, on the other hand, the soul yields to the seductions of the body, neglects her higher duties, and indulges in sensual desires, she has failed in the purpose for which she was sent. On departing from the body she is denied admittance

parallels from Arabic sources are given, to which the *Pseudo-Theology of Aristotle*, edited by Dieterici, Leipzig 1882, p. 95 f., may be added; see also the work **אַבְקַת רַוְלָל**, part III, c. 2, ed. Warsaw 1876, p. 42; Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, I, 154.

⁶⁹ Gazzālī who did not care much for the Brethren of Purity and once stigmatized them as the lowest class of philosophic popularizers (comp. Goldziher, *REJ.*, XLIX, 160), labors under the same conceptions. In his *Ethics*, 219, he clearly says: **הַמֹּתָה הוּא לְהָשִׁיבָה**; comp. the long parable in Palquera's **מִבְשָׁר** 45, and Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 40, n. 281.

to the heavenly spheres and doomed to eternal wanderings between heaven and earth.⁷⁰

These ideas are not original with the Brethren of Purity. They are of common occurrence in Neo-Platonic literature. Various Jewish writers, some even older than the authors of the *Encyclopædia*, move along the same lines. What is of special interest to us here is that even the similes themselves, peculiar as they are, were made use of by Jewish writers. Thus in Bahya's *Duties*, III 9, we read: *והם ממרק בשליא מון הולך ובקליפת הביצה מן האפרוח* which is literally the same as quoted above from the works of the 'Ihwān.⁷¹ For the contrast of schoolboy and school I do not know of any direct parallel in Jewish literature.⁷² The underlying idea, however, namely that the soul was

⁷⁰ The thought is also familiar in the Talmud; comp. *Shabbat* 152b: *ר' אליעזר אמר נשמתנו של צדוקים גנותות תחת כסא הכהן ... ושל רשעים גנותות והולכות (ומלאך אחד עומר בסוף העולם ומלאך אחר עומר בסוף העולם) זה להה* (comp. also *Sifre*, נושא, 40, פנהם, 139; *Kohel. rab.*, 3, 21; Saadia, *Emiūnōt*, ed. Cracow, 137 (whose version of the passage agrees more with *Abot dirabbi Nathan*, c. 12), and especially Goldziher, *Kitāb*, 53 f., notes on pp. 65, 66, who quotes also Isaac Israeli (end of ninth century) and passages from the *Zohar*. See also Schorr, *ההלוין*, VIII, 19. The last pages of Ibn Ṣaddik's *קמן צוילם* are devoted to the presentation of this theory; see Horovitz, *Psychologic*, 198 ff. It should be noticed that in *המלך והגיבור*, c. 35, the same views are expounded by the Dervish to the docile Prince. Jedaiah, *בחינת עולם*, c. 14 (*לחתחות ויזמות*) may also be referred to; comp. Ibn Ihabib, *ad locum*. The whole matter is closely connected with the theory of the pre-mundane existence of the soul; comp. Ginzberg, *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern*, Berlin 1900, p. 23, 36; Goldziher, I. c., 49.

⁷¹ See the Arabic text just quoted; Dieterici, *Anthropologic*, 17, 44, 126.

⁷² For the metaphor man and garment see above, p. 463, note 26, the quotation from Palquera's *מבץ* and p. 465, note 35, the quotation from *המראת גנותה* (Aquinas).

sent down to this world for study and introspection, so as to merit by her own efforts the reward that is intended for her in the world to come, is taught also by Jewish philosophers.⁷³

Of a more general character is the conception of the body as a cloud obstructing the light of the sun (soul)⁷⁴ and can be met with in various forms also in the works of Jewish authors.⁷⁵ Special emphasis was laid on the personification of the soul as a dove which is ensnared in the mazes of the body.⁷⁶ A similar idea is expressed by the author of the commentary on Canticles, in Steinschneider's *Festschrift*, texts, p. 50, l. 6 from below: וּמְתֻלָּה שֶׁבֶת חַמְאַמְתָּה מִתּוֹסְטָה בֵּין טָאוֹס פּוֹקָהָא וּמְרָאָב תְּחִתָּהָא וְאַלְמָרָאָב אַלְיָ אַסְפָּל אַלְטָאוֹס אַלְיָ אַעֲלָיָ וּמְרָדָה הַרְיָ בְּתִיָּ. “The soul is comparable to a dove which is placed between a peacock that is above her and a raven that is under her, the latter pulling her repeatedly downward and the former upward.”⁷⁷

In conclusion it must be stated that while in nearly all the instances discussed above the Jewish authors appear to have followed Arabic models, there is a considerable number of metaphors scattered in haggadic and midrashic⁷⁸

⁷³ The authors are too numerous to be quoted. Saadia expounds this idea in the fourth chapter of his *Emūnōt*; comp. Horovitz, *Psychologie*, 45 f., particularly Goldziher, *Kitāb*, 47 f.

⁷⁴ Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, 131 f.

⁷⁵ Comp. Bahya, *Duties*, VIII, 3, 14th *Meditation*: הַקּוֹן אֲחֵי מִן הַשְׁנָה הַזֹּאת וּכְזֹה, which is entirely in the style of the *Iḥwān*; the commentary on Canticles, *l. c.*, 50, l. 8, from bottom, 56, l. 14 ff.; Pseudo-Empedocles in Kaufmann's *Studien über Salomon Ibn Gabirol*, 22, top: כְּמוּה נִכְשֵׁשׁ שְׁהִיא צָוָה כְּלָהָגָן וְהַגָּן צָלָה...

⁷⁶ Discussed by Goldziher, *Kitāb*, 49 f.; *Der Islam*, I, 25. The simile quoted above, p. 464, note 30, is conceived under another aspect and does not belong here.

⁷⁷ Comp. *Kohel. rab.* 2, 14, § 2.

⁷⁸ See *Levit. rab.*, 4, § 8.

literature, which seem to have originated with the Jews. A collection of these similes, however, was not within the scope of the present article. Only a few that bear some resemblance to similes treated already may be pointed out in passing. Thus in *Levit. rab.*, 34, § 3, it is reported of Hillel that when he left his disciples he used to say that he is going to attend to his guest in the house. On being asked whether he is troubled with guests every day he answered, Is not that poor soul a guest in the body? to-day she is here, to-morrow she may be gone.⁷⁹

Mediaeval authors often allude to the soul as a bird kept prisoner in a cage or flying about seeking rest. A similar conception is found already in *Sanh.* 92a, *Levit. rab.*, 4, § 5: פָּרוּחַת בָּאָוֶר צְבּוֹר טָהוֹר. The Kabbalists designate the

וְהַרְדֵּין גְּפֵשָׁא עַלְבָּתָא לְאוֹ אַבְּסָנִיא הִיא בְּגַן גּוֹפָא וּמָא דָן הִיא הַכָּא לְמֹרֶר לְלִתְהַרְדֵּין. This passage bears strong resemblance to the popular sentence, בָּן הַמְּלֵךְ וְהַנּוֹרָה, which occurs in *c.* 16, and, curiously enough, also in a later Midrash; see Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, I, 23, and Buber, *סָכָרִי דָאָגָדָה*, 82.

⁸⁰ Possibly it is this conception of the soul as a bird that underlies Ezekiel 13, 18-21; see Dudley (as above, note 4), p. 29, n. 25, and especially Steinschneider, *Rangstreit-Literatur*, 58, n. 1, who considers this conception as the basis for the custom to open a window at the moment of a person's death, so that the soul may fly out. Prof. Ginzberg refers me to the Midrash on Psalms, ed. Buber, p. 102: נִשְׁמָה רָמָה כִּמְן חָגֶב בְּעֵלְבָנִים וְשְׁלָמָן קָשְׁוָה בְּגָלוֹן וְתָלוֹתָה בְּחֹות הַשְּׁדָה וְכָשָׁדָה יִצְן וּצְאָה נְשָׁמָה וּמְשָׁמָתָה בְּעַלְעַת וְהַנְּזָהָרָה כְּאֵת רָאָה (comp. also Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, V, 45, and p. XXI, top). Here the soul appears as a kind of flying locust, or a grasshopper, a figure which may be of Greek origin; see e. g. Plato's *Phaedrus*, 248 E; Pseudo-Theology of Aristotle, 10, Dieterici's German translation, 198. The Greek ψυχή means also butterfly, which, because of its rising from the larva, may have been taken as a symbol of life and immortality. The Kabbalist Eleazar of Worms (thirteenth century) in his work *הַכְּבָנָת הַגְּפֵשָׁא*, which was published anonymously (Lemberg 1876), refers to this Midrash by נִצְחָתִי בְּחֹבָב; see *ib.*, 1d (הַנְּפָשָׁת יִשְׁלַח הָה) שְׁמָה וּשְׁלָה בְּגַנְפִּים) and 6b. The work, to which Prof. Schechter called my attention, is a fantastic glorification of the soul, interspersed with kabbalistic mysteries which yield but little for our purpose; comp. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XVII, 53; Brüll, *Jahrbücher*, V, 198.

souls as "holy birds that fly about chirping and praying for the holy people of Israel." Thus the *Zohar* in a lengthy exposition on the subject (section בלק, p. 392) interprets the verse **גַּם צְפּוֹר מֵצָאתָ בֵּית** (Ps. 84, 4) as referring to the souls of the righteous that find shelter in the most hidden palace of the divine presence which is called **קָן צְפּוֹר**.⁸¹ On certain days of the year, particularly in the months of Nisan and Tishri, these souls leave their holy retreat every morning and, fluttering above the various divisions of paradise, praise the Lord and pray for the life of *all mankind*.⁸² Jedaiah ha-Penini, c. 15 says: **בְּחִינַת שָׁלֵם**, and Zerahiah ha-Yewani, c. 12 beginning: **וְרֹעֵב נֶשֶׁמֶת...** **כַּעֲרֵךְ** **הַנְּחַפֵּשׁ בְּמִזְוֹרָה** **וּמְאִישֵּׁר יְמָלֵט יְטוּבָל** **קָנוֹ צְפּוֹר**.⁸³ The metaphor was common, however, also among the Arabs. The historian

היכלא טמירא חרא גנו רעין לא ראתה אלחיהם זולתך וההוא היכלא איקרי
קָנוֹ צְפּוֹר

גַּם צְפּוֹר מֵצָאתָ בֵּית אָלָן רְוַחִיּוֹן דְּדָרְקִיָּא ... וּוּמְמִין רְשִׁימָוֹן אֵיתָ בְּשַׁתָּא⁸⁴ וְאַוְנוֹן יוֹמִין יוֹסִין וְוּמִי תְּשִׁירִי דְּאִוְנוֹן רְוַחִיּוֹן מִשְׁתְּטִין ... וְאַתְּחַונָּן עַל גְּבוּ שְׁוֹרָן דְּגַנְתָּא כָּל חָר וְחָר כְּחִיוּ דְּצִפְרָן מִצְפְּצָפָן בְּכָל צִפְרָא וְצִפְרָא וְהַהְוָא צִפְפָּאָא שְׁבָחָא רְכָבָה וְצִלְחָא עַל הוֹי בְּנֵי נְשָׁא דְּהָא עַלְמָא. This passage of the *Zohar* is the basis for an Aramaic prayer in the Polish ritual, provided for the first twelve days of Nisan (יְמֵי הַנְּשִׁיאִים), which I used to recite as a boy and which reads as follows: **יְהִי רָצֵן ... שְׁתָאוּר הַיּוֹם בְּחִסְרַת הַגָּדוֹל עַל נְשָׁמָתֵינוּ קְרִישֵׁן** רְמֹתְרָהֵשִׁין בְּצִפְרָן וּמִצְפָּפָן וּמִשְׁבָּחָן וּמִגְּלָאָן עַל עַמָּא קְרִישָׁא יִשְׂרָאֵל. **רְבַשְׁעָע** תְּבָנִים וְתְּגִיעֵל הַנְּקָצְפָּרְיוֹן קְרִישָׁו לְאַתְּרָא קְרִישָׁא דְּאוֹתְמָר עַלְתָּה עַן לא רָאתָה אֶלְחִים זּוֹלָתָךְ וְגַנוֹּן. Zunz remarks somewhere that the Jews sometimes sing logic, lament in mathematics, and pray metaphysics. The above prayer may serve as an illustration of the latter part.

רְוַחִי בְּקָרְבִּי בְּדָרוֹר תּוֹךְ וְהַנְּזִיר בְּכָן הַמְּלָךְ וְהַנְּזִיר c. 5, end, reads: **בְּכָן הַמְּלָךְ וְהַנְּזִיר** וְהַנְּזִיר, but this is perhaps only an allusion to Ps. 124, 7.

Al-Mas'udi⁸⁴ relates of the pre-Islamitic Arabs that they believed the soul was a bird living in the human body, and that when a person dies the soul continues to flutter about the grave and to bewail the death of its former companion.

Highly poetical is the portraiture of man as a lamp enkindled by the Torah which is a spark of God, the body representing here the wick, while the soul is compared to the oil.⁸⁵ So Jedaiah, *l. c.*, c. 15, beginning: *התורה היא להב מהפרד משביב היושבי בשמיים והאדם בשמי החקוי אבוקה ששובת אוור נווע פתילה נפתלה נשמהו שמן זית ור' בהשכמתם והצמדת יתמלא הבית כלו אורה.* The same metaphor is used by Zerahiah ha-Yewāni, *ס' הישר*, c. 5, as the sixth of his proofs for reward and punishment in the hereafter.⁸⁶ Of a somewhat similar nature is the exposition of the author of the commentary on Canticles, who drew upon Mohammedan sources: *תעלם אז אלנטבעת אלתי יתכן פיה אלולד שבה אלפתילה פינבע פיה אללהו שבה מא ינפך פי אלפתילה אלנאר פישעל אלסראג בדליך אלנפנס ענד מא קות אלכון תחעלק באלנטבעת וקות אלכון.* "Know that the sperm in which the embryo assumes existence is to be compared to a wick and that the spirit is blown into the former just as the fire is communicated to the latter, so that the lamp burns; this

⁸⁴ *Les Prairies d'or*, III, 310; comp. Derenburg in Geiger's *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, VI, 293. The idea that the soul mourns over the dead body is common also in rabbinical literature; comp. b. Shabbat 152a, bottom, especially p. Yebamot, c. 16, § 3; see also *ס' החבורה* of Berechiah ha-Nakdan, edited by Gollancz, London 1902, p. 50.

⁸⁵ Comp. Shem Tob Ibn Shem Tob, the commentator of Maimonides' *Guide*, section, end: *כוי השמן רמו לנפש ... ולכז ראו טהאייש דרישות תצוה*, end: *שזהו הפתילה והשמן יהיה נערר מכל פחיתות*.

⁸⁶ For other similes of this author see *ib.*, end of c. 1.

is what takes place when the soul joins the sperm at the time of coming into existence.”⁸⁷

Bahya's representation of the evil spirit as a spider that spreads its network around the window gradually obstructing the light of the sun,⁸⁸ and, likewise, his comparison of the soul with an unpolished metallic plate which becomes bright by friction,⁸⁹ seem to be of Arabic origin, though I do not know the source at present.

Of doubtless Jewish origin is the symbolical description of the human body and its organs as paralleling the Tabernacle and its various vessels. Already in the New Testament the body is called tabernacle (II Cor. 5, 1. 4; Pet. 1, 13-14); Jewish mediæval authors took up the idea showing the correspondence in detail. The sources are rather numerous and require special treatment.⁹⁰

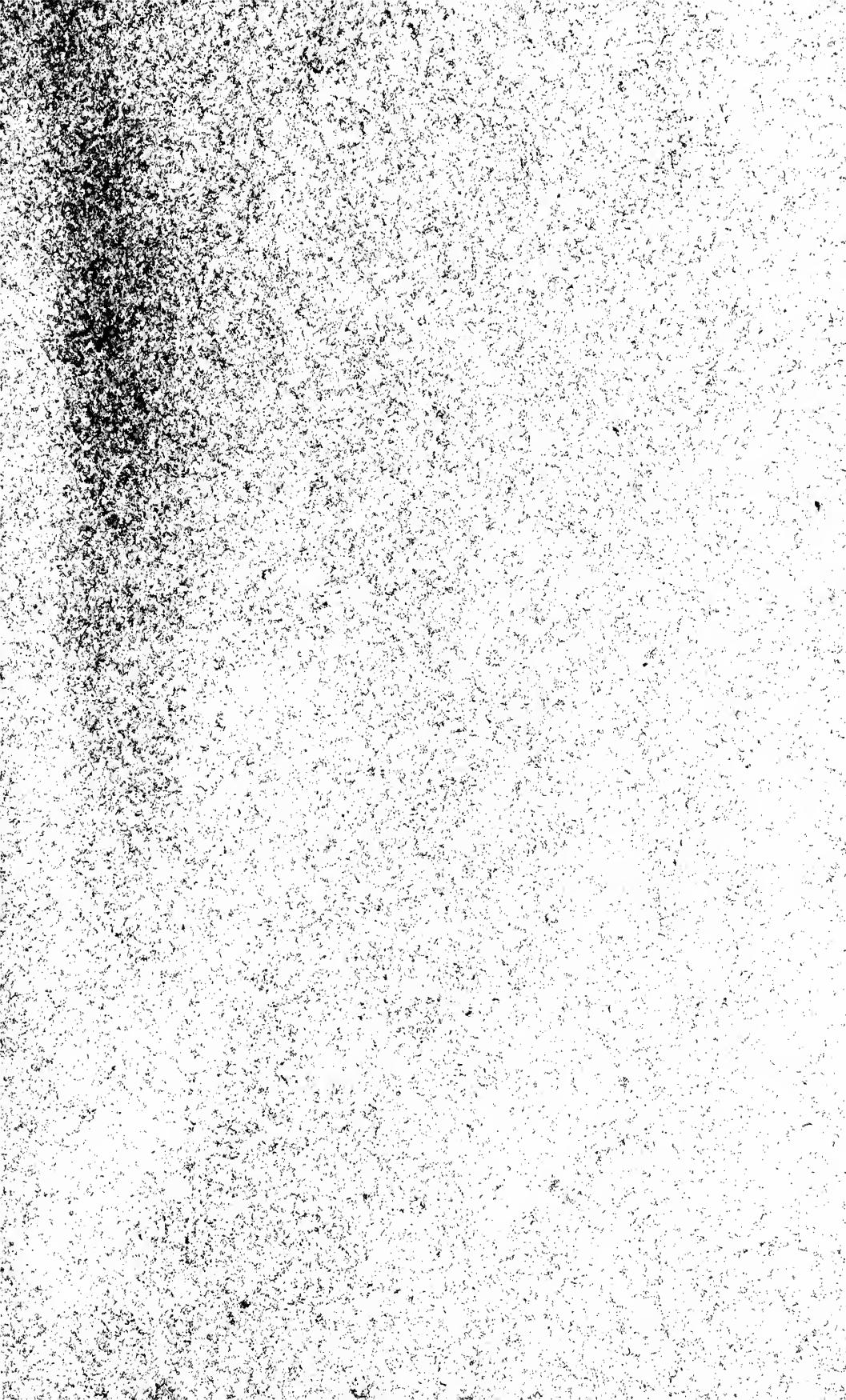
⁸⁷ Steinschneider *Festschrift*, 51, bottom; comp. *Kuzari*, II, 26: **הַנֶּפֶשׁ** לא תתחבר כי אם ברוח חם טביעי ... שיקשר הלהב בראש הפתילה; so also Dūnāsh Ibn Tamim in his commentary on the book **יציריה**, London 1902, p. 71, bottom.

⁸⁸ *Duties*, VIII, 3, 14th *Meditation*; comp. b. *Sukkah* 52a.

⁸⁹ *Ib.*, VIII, 4.

⁹⁰ See *Kuzari*, II, 26 (comp. above p. 462) and the reference given by Cassel (2) *ad locum*, p. 129; Abraham Ibn Ezra, on Exod., 26, 1, and especially Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetzungen*, 997, n. 1. Some of the references in that note are misprinted. Numerous parallels between the vessels of the Tabernacle and organs of the human body will be found in the **מדרש תדרשא**, ed. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, III, 175 f.





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